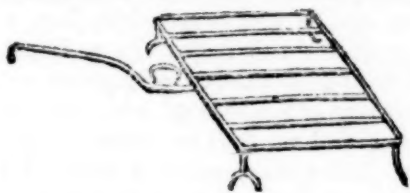


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"There can be no excuse for keeping up a greater force now, than was kept up after the American war. If we keep up a great force still, what shall we have gained by this peace? And how are we to be able ever to go to war again; and yet, war will become necessary; for, the other powers, having no longer any need of our fleets, and we having no more subsidies to give, will not be very desirous of leaving us absolute masters of all the colonies and commerce of the world. Yet, if this Debt and these expenses remain, we have SEEN OUR LAST WAR."—REGISTER, 16th APRIL, 1814.

"If the taxes be not to be reduced to what they were before the war; if our conquests be to be made the pretext for keeping up taxes to an amount of more than about twenty millions, this nation will be utterly ruined by these conquests, which, after having been an excuse for ruining the people, will be taken from us at last for want of our having the means of defending them."—REGISTER, 23rd APRIL, 1814.

TO THE

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

On the Cost of our "Conquests."

Barn-Elm Farm, 7th March, 1830.

MY LORD DUKE,

I HAVE read with great interest your speech of the 4th instant, relative to the impossibility of making further reductions, and relative to the cost of maintaining our conquests. These are most important matters. The fate of millions of men; the fate of an ancient commonwealth, together with its kingly Government, are involved in the questions; which questions I shall, therefore, discuss fully before I have done with them; and, according to my usual practice, I shall first of all insert your speech as I find it reported in the newspapers. I take this report from the *Morning*

Herald. Several lords had just presented petitions complaining of distress, and praying for a repeal of taxes. You had been pressed for an answer to these complaints and these prayers, and your answer, as reported, was as follows:

"The Duke of WELLINGTON: My Lords, I beg to assure the noble Lord, and the House will, I think, accord with what I say, that his Majesty's Government are disposed to afford every information in their power on the subject alluded to, and that they are disposed to afford relief, the estimates which have been brought forward in another place testify. Those estimates have been considerably diminished in the present session of Parliament, compared with preceding sessions. So also were they greatly diminished the last session, in comparison with others. My Lords, with respect to diminishing the expenditure, all that I can say on the subject is, that every thing which his Majesty's Ministers could do to reduce the expenses, consistently with the safety and honour of the country, has been done. No expenses exist, my Lords, that are not absolutely necessary for maintaining the interests and honour of the country, extended as those interests are to all parts of the globe. Although it is perfectly true that this is an island, and only forms a very small portion of the globe, yet the interests of the country extend to all parts of the world, and must be maintained at the expense of the country. (Hear.) There are only 12,000,000*l.* of expenditure susceptible of reduction, and within the last two years, 2,000,000*l.* on this particular part of the expenditure, have been actually saved. There are other parts of the expenditure which cannot be touched. I do maintain, my Lords, that Government have done all in their power in reducing the expenses of the country. With respect to the military force, every thing to diminish it had been accomplished. The number

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“ of troops was lower than it was in the year 1792, if their Lordships took into consideration, *the additional colonies* now belonging to the mother country. The military establishment was lower now than at that period, taking the facts to which I have alluded into consideration. Your Lordships will not fail to bear in mind *the conquests* that have been made since the year 1792, and the necessity of having large bodies of men in the colonies *thus conquered*. There are some parts of the world, some very important stations, necessary for the maintenance of the interests of this country, which have been added since that period ; for instance, the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, and Ceylon : in all these places we had no stations in 1792. Then again, in the Mediterranean, there was Malta added, and the Ionian Islands. All these stations, my Lords, require a considerable military force. These colonies cannot be maintained without expense. The navy establishment, as the noble Duke was understood to say, was at present higher ; but there had been a necessity of employing additional force *in different parts of the world*. Their Lordships, he was persuaded, could not desire the stations to be abandoned, and that they would consider that every diminution of expenditure had been resorted to consistently with the true interests of the country.”

Now, “ Greatest Captain of the age,” I could, I think, keep all the conquests, and yet bring down the taxes to the amount of 1792. I could do this ; and another time, I will ask you *why* you cannot. But for *argument's sake*, and to render the matter as simple as possible, I will take you at your word, and suppose that these enormous and ruinous taxes *are necessary to the maintenance of our conquests*. As against you and all your predecessors up to Pitt and Dundas and Eldon inclusive, I need ask for no admission beyond this : it verifies not my opinions only, but those of Gibert, Wakefield, Muir, Margaret, Palmer, Gerald, the twenty-six worthies of Nottingham, and of whole hecatombs

of victims who were sacrificed before I appeared upon the stage. Pitt promised the people *indemnity* for the past, and *security* for the future. The conquests were to be our *indemnity* ; but, alas ! we now find this indemnity to be an addition of 45,000,000*l.* of expense yearly, exclusive of 5,500,000*l.* additional poor-rates ; and we find our *security* to consist of the prospect of a general convulsion, “ the danger of this being *now* greater than it was at any period of “ the French Revolution,” according to the opinion expressed the other day in the House of Lords, and certainly according to my opinion too.

Please, my Lord, to read the MOTTOS, and look well at the DATE of those mottos ! Thus, you see, it did not require *sixteen years* to enable ME to see what would be the *bitter fruit of these conquests* ; these *boasted* conquests ; this *rich indemnity*. I saw it at once. I saw it, while the nation was *drunk*, and while you and the foreign kings were enjoying the *defeat of the poor Yankees on the Serpentine river* ! And, what is more, I had the courage to *say* it at that time. Read these MOTTOS again. Read them ten times over. Let the nation read them : let the ruined nation look at the DATES of them : then let them acknowledge, that *I was the man to have prevented this ruin* ; or, let them PERISH.

Since you took upon you that office *which I ought to have filled*, I have repeatedly told you, that if you resolved *not to reduce the taxes* ; if you resolved to *keep up the expenses*, the nation would have to deplore the day that it *bragged of its conquests* ! In August, 1828 (16th day), I told you all about the consequences of these fatal conquests. It really does appear, that I have left nothing *unforetold* upon these subjects : it seems that I have now nothing to do but to *wait for events* ; and, as these arise, to show, as applicable to each, *what my foretelling has been*. In the Register of the last-mentioned date, I said precisely that which is a *complete answer* to your speech which I have above inserted, especially as relating to the *conquests*. Good God ! that I should

see all this, and that it should be seen by no one of a *thousand lawgivers!* However, here it is: it was addressed to yourself; and really you seem now to have made a speech on purpose to *fit this answer*. Here it is: let the ruined nation now read it: let the ruined nation now attend to it: or, let the ruined nation *perish!*

"The short question, as connected with *peace, or war*, is this: *can there be war without bank restriction, or, without leaving the dividends unpaid?* And, as every man in his senses will answer this question in the negative, need we wonder that the Ministers tremble at the thought of drawing the sword? You, my Lord Duke, have, you *must have*, the strongest inclination in the world to support the honour of the country; but you cannot make gold out of flint stones: war will have *money*, and money in great quantities too; and to expend money on war, and to pay the fundholders too, is impossible; and you cannot work impossibilities. If it were not useless to talk of what *might have been done since the peace*, I might observe, that money spent on *new churches* (which, if wanted, ought to have been built by the establishment), the money *given to the parsons*, the money expended on the *dead-weight*, the money expended on the *pensions, sinecures, grants*, and in various other of those ways, of which no other nation ever heard; these enormous sums of money, if they had been left in the pockets of the people, would have formed a resource, especially if to them had been added the about *one hundred and fifty millions of money*, which, since 1814, has been expended on a *standing army* (including *ordnance*), *exceeding that which has been kept up in any former peace*. After the American war the army cost annually *less than TWO MILLIONS*, including *half pay, pensions and every thing*; and, including the whole of the *ordnance*, the sum was only (in 1786) 2,358,922*l.* Since the last peace, the sum has not been less (including all the same items) than

16,000,000*l.* And while the navy in 1786, cost only 2,428,326*l.* a year; since 1814, it has cost, including all the same items, about 7,000,000*l.* In short, this our peace establishment has cost annually more than ever the nation had, in any former time, to expend in the most expensive years of the most extended wars! I, for my part, can see no reason why this peace establishment should have exceeded that of the last peace; and, if it had not, the people would now have had in their pockets more than two hundred and fifty of the millions that have been expended since the peace of 1814! In short, we have, in peace, been put to the expense of extended war: peace has given us no relief, no rest, no pause: for in whatever degree nominal sums of taxes have diminished, the real sums have been augmented by additions repeatedly made to the value of money by the changes in the quantity and character of that money. So that here we are with the full expenses of never-ceasing war, while the *name of peace* is sounded in our ears.

"If these establishments *be necessary* to us in a state of profound peace with all the world, they will, of course, be necessary to us *at home*, while we are carrying on foreign war. So that they must be *doubled at any rate*; when every man must know, that an additional shilling is not, by any human power, to be extracted out of us. In the year 1781, when we were at war with AMERICA, FRANCE, SPAIN and HOLLAND; when the war raged in every part of the world; when we had in our pay *Hessians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, Hanauers, Waldeckers, Anspachers, Anhalt-Zerbsters*, and God knows who and what besides; when the great theatre of war was on the other side of the Atlantic, whither we had to send not only provisions for armies, but food and even *litter* for horses. In that year, the whole of the charge for *navy, army and ordnance*, including half-pay and *every extraordinary and contingent expense*, amounted to 21,700,520*l.*; a smaller

“sum than we have, on these accounts,
 “had to pay in *every year of the present peace*; though the King has every
 “year told us, that the assurances of
 “all foreign powers were pacific and
 “friendly! As soon as that war was
 “over, the establishment came down
 “from *twenty-one millions* a year to
 “*five*. The nation, therefore, recovered
 “itself: it was again prosperous: its
 “expenses, debt and all, *came within*
 “*fourteen millions a year*: it was able,
 “in a few years, to go to war again:
 “NOOTKA SOUND and OKSACOW drew
 “forth threats of war against Spain
 “and Russia, and these threats produced
 “their desired effect. The nation was
 “still rich; the labouring classes were
 “well fed and clad, and their houses
 “had furniture and beer barrels. PITT
 “stripped the nation of every thing;
 “*mortgaged* it and all it contained, even
 “to the labour of the child unborn.
 “This peace, therefore, could be like no
 “former peace. Even if the establish-
 “ment had been reduced to the standard
 “of former peace establishments, there
 “was the interest on the *mortgage* to
 “pay, and that exceeded in annual
 “amount the annual expenses of any
 “former year of war. So that, by bor-
 “rowing money to purchase ‘*conquests*
 “of France,’ we disabled ourselves to
 “engage in future wars.

“But, at any rate, the *establishments*
 “might have been *lowered* in cost. In
 “the above-mentioned year of terrible
 “warfare against what might be pretty
 “nearly called all the world, there were
 “kept on foot 36,666 British troops,
 “including invalids, guards and garri-
 “sons, in all parts of our dominions;
 “13,472 Hessians; 4,300 Brunswickers;
 “2 regiments of Hanau; 5 Hanoverian
 “battalions; 1 corps of the Prince of
 “Waldeck; 1,447 Anspachers; and 1
 “Battalion of Anhalt-Zerbst; making,
 “altogether, at home and abroad, not
 “more than *sixty thousand men*. And,
 “is it, then, possible, that we can, dur-
 “ing this long and *profound peace*,
 “need more than a *hundred thousand*
 “men? For, all included, it has been
 “that. Suppose, however, it were
 “90,000, as it is represented to be; can

“we *need* one-third more force during
 “this peace, than was needed during a
 “war with America, France, Spain and
 “Holland?

“To this, however, we return: if
 “such force *be necessary* to us in time
 “of profound peace, *what is to be the*
 “*force in war*, and what the *expense of*
 “*that force*? It would be impossible
 “to carry on war, even upon a limited
 “scale, without an *additional* expense
 “of *thirty millions* a year, even if the
 “expenses were paid in money of the
 “present value; and, if paid in *depre-*
 “*ciated paper*, no man can guess at
 “the nominal amount. Then, what
 “*sort of war* would this be! The writer,
 “whom I have quoted above, says, that
 “we gained ‘a vast *accession of terri-*
 “*tory* during the last war;’ and that
 “our ‘policy is, to *husband* our re-
 “sources, and to *keep what we have*
 “*got*.’

“We have just seen something of
 “the manner in which we ‘*husband*
 “our resources;’ and, as ‘to *keeping*
 “*what we have got*,’ that is precisely
 “what other nations mean not to let us
 “do! Such possessions as the East
 “and West Indies, Cape of Good Hope,
 “and others, a large part of which we
 “in the last war got from France,
 “Spain, and Holland, while we were
 “fighting for ‘their *deliverance* from
 “*anarchy, confusion, and atheism*’; yes,
 “while we were fighting for the ‘*de-*
 “*liverance of Europe*’ and the restora-
 “tion of ‘*legitimacy*,’ we were making
 “conquests of the territories, and ships
 “and goods, of the ‘*delivered*’ parties;
 “such possessions as these are not to
 “be kept, for any length of time, by a
 “power which *cannot go to war*. A
 “rich man, though feeble as a mouse,
 “and though every one knows that he
 “would, were he left to himself, suffer
 “his very coat to be taken from his
 “back, rather than fight in defence of
 “it; such a man is quite safe; and,
 “though the villain may have got his
 “wealth by stock jobbing, or by specu-
 “lation however infamous, he sets his
 “injured and plundered neighbours at
 “defiance, because he has the *consta-*
 “*ble, the judge, the jailor*, and, if neces-

sary, the *soldier*, to protect him. A feeble *nation*, that has, in one way or another, grasped to itself a large part of the former property of its neighbours, has no such extraneous means of protection. It must *protect itself*; and if it be found unable to do this, the *property will be taken away from it*, and, most likely, some of its own original property into the bargain.

"We may, as long as we please, talk of the '*sacrifices*' that we made for the '*deliverance of Europe*'; we may amuse ourselves with this talk; but, the nations of Europe know well, that, while we were engaged in that *generous* work, we were stripping them of their dominions and their ships and their goods. Spain knows, that, without any declaration or inclination of war, we stripped her of her treasure; and that we retain part of her colonial dominions. France knows, that we stripped her in the East and in the West Indies, leaving her next to nothing. The Dutch know, that we have stripped them of all their really valuable colonies; and these two latter powers remember, that we have never *returned* them the *fleets* delivered up to us by the '*loyalists*' of *TOULON* and of *AMSTERDAM*. All these nations remember these things; and the Americans remember, that we attempted to devastate their coast, that we set fire to their Congress House, and their offices and library; and they know, besides, the great inconvenience they experience in consequence of the former Spanish, French, and Dutch colonies being in our hands.

"The *Knights of St. John of Jerusalem* were also *delivered* by us; doubly *delivered*; delivered from the French and *delivered of their territories*! *MALTA* and the *IONIAN ISLES* came to us, I suppose, as a sort of payment for the *deliverance*! All this passes along very well, if we be ready to *fight* in defence of what we have thus got; but, if we be not ready to fight for it, those from whom we have made the conquests cannot, and will not, long suffer us '*to keep what we have got*,' however anxious we may be to do it; and,

"at no distant day, these gains must all be surrendered, or we must hold them by force of arms.

"The plain case is this: we carried on a war against those whom we called revolutionists and rebels; and, finally, we restored the legitimate sovereigns to reign in the place of those who had usurped their authority. This was all very well; but, in our wars against the *usurpers*, we took into our hands most valuable parts of the territories of their respective sovereigns; and when these sovereigns came to be restored, *we kept these valuable territories*: we did not '*deliver*' them at any rate. This is the short and true view of the affair; and however anxious we may be to have it forgotten, these powers will never forget it; and they never will rest satisfied, until they have got their territories back again.

"Our situation, with regard to consequences, is this: we did not get these dominions by force of our own arms, but, chiefly by the means of *money*, expended in subsidies and in other ways. We had more than a million of men in arms to effect what we called the '*conquest of France*'; and of that million we had of *our own men* only fifty thousand. We *paid* for the '*conquest*'; but, *we borrowed the money*; and we have not repaid it, nor any part of it. To pay the mere *interest* of it, and to keep up at home, a force sufficient for the purposes created by the loans and their effects, leave us nothing for the purposes of war; keep us so poor, that we have never a penny in hand; and induce us to affect not to see any offence or affront in any act of any foreign nation.

"Is it possible, that any one can be so blind as not to perceive that, under such circumstances, and taking the *past* into view, the nations whose territories we have in our hands, will not seek an occasion for '*delivering*' us in our turn? We may, as wise CANNING told you, my Lord Duke, when you were at *VERONA*, '*resolve to have peace for ourselves*.' Deep CANNING, whose wife has been *ennobled*, does

“not seem to have recollected that, “*resolve* as long as we would, we could “not have peace any longer than other “nations chose to let us have it. The “sly Quakers ‘*resolve to have peace for themselves*’: they will, on no account, fight; they will rather have “their coats taken from their backs: “but they have *the law* to protect “and avenge them. And if we had “any *third party* to protect us against “those whose territories we ‘*delivered*,’ we might, with something like “sense, ‘*resolve to have peace* for ourselves’; but, having no such third “party to protect us, we must *fight* for “what we have got, *or lose it*; and “that must be a poor blind bat of a “statesman, who does not perceive “that, even now, things are *working together* to wrest these territories from “us. Oh, no, my Lord Duke, we, having got all these good things into our “hands, are not to be suffered, like the “sleek Quakers, in the midst of a community, to keep them *quietly* without “the usual costs and exertions attendant “on such keeping. We may continue “to ‘*resolve to have peace*’; but, at “last, we must *fight*, or surrender “without fighting.

“Before we resolved to keep these “valuable possessions, to grasp every “thing valuable in the world, to extend “our dominion to every part of the “globe; before we resolved on doing “that which must of necessity excite “jealousy and heart-burnings in *all* “other nations; before we did this, we “ought to have ascertained whether “we should be able, in future, at all “times, *to maintain our gain by the sword*. When we made the grasp, “we were deceived by appearances; we “did not reflect; we thought, and, indeed, our newspapers said, and it was “the common saying, that FRANCE “WAS CRIPPLED FOR A CENTURY. Her fleet was gone, we said; “she would have enough to do to keep “peace at home; the Dutch were, we “said, in the same situation; Spain “was, in some sort, our own; and, “there remained nothing but ‘JAMES “MADISON and the successful example

“‘of democratic rebellion’ to put “down, in order to give us countless “ages of *peace and prosperity*. Alas! “what a miscalculation! France has “already a great, an efficient, naval “force; the Dutch, though silent, have “not been idle; Spain is, at any rate, “free from us; and as to the country “of the devoted ‘JAMES MADISON,’ it “not only was not *put down*, but it is “become ten times more formidable to “us than it was on the day that it made “us abandon our famous *sine qua non*. “It was unwise to go to war at all in “1793. We had no national object in “that war; but, be that as it might, “we ought to have kept none of the “territories of those whom we boasted “of having ‘*delivered*’; or, keeping “them, we ought to have been prepared for defending them by the “sword. In few words, this is our “situation: we have obtained a vast “extension of dominion by the means “of borrowed money; we cannot go to “war without ceasing to pay the interest of the money borrowed; and “we cannot cease to pay the interest of “the money borrowed, without a blowing up of this whole system.

“Here, then, we have before us the “fatal consequences of a funding system and paper money, against which “system I have been labouring one “half of my life. MR. PAINE said, that “such a system was *strength* in the “beginning and *weakness* in the end: “you have had full experience of the “former, and events now threaten to “give you as full experience of the latter.”

There, Mr. Prime Minister! That came from a man with a *head* upon his shoulders. That came from a man who could foretell all the consequences as soon as the peace was made. That came from a man, who was sober in 1814, when all the rest of the nation were drunk. That came from a man able to foresee events. And, oh! what this nation has suffered, and *has yet to suffer*, not only because that man has not had *power*; but because those who had power, *resolved not to do what that man recommended*

to be done! Aye, and, *generally speaking*, it *deserves to suffer*; for it might, long ago, have given power to that man.

Well, but what an account do you, the great *dealer in victories*, give us *now* of the *result* of those dealings? The people tell you, that they are expiring under the weight of taxes; and your answer is, that without they pay, and continue to pay, the *full amount of those taxes*, the *conquests must be abandoned!* Bravo, MY READERS! Let us have three distinct rounds of huzzas, in answer to the cheers set up by the deluded rabble, when the *Yankee flag* was hauled down on the Serpentine river. Ah, ah, say you so! The nation must continue to pay all the taxes; continue to pay 4½*d.* tax upon a pot of six-penny beer; 4*d.* tax upon a pound of seven-penny sugar; 1*s.* 3*d.* tax upon an almanack that is sold for 3*d.* at New York; 4½*d.* tax upon a newspaper, sold by the printer for sixpence; and so on throughout the whole: the people must continue to *pay thus for ever*; OR, the *conquests must be abandoned!* Come, then, my readers, *another three rounds of huzzas!* The Duke says, that "these *conquests must be maintained* at the "EXPENSE OF THE COUNTRY." Well, then, I say, let us have a third three rounds; and off with your hats, my boys, and swing them over your heads; and let the palaces of the tax-eaters resound with your voices.

But, now, my Lord Duke, as to the *value* of these *conquests*. Are these fine conquests of any *use to us*? Have Malta and the Ionian Islands kept the Russians out of the Mediterranean, or the French out of the Morea? Have they done us any good? It is *now come out*, that you *wished* the French *not to go to the Morea*; but they *went*; and then you were *content* that they should go! Next come the *sugar islands*. Mr. WYNDHAM used to say, that while PITT and DUNDAS ought to have had their eyes steadily fixed on Europe, they were always poking about after sugar islands. At last you have, apparently, got *too many* of these; for now comes a curious affair. We must continue to be burdened for the sake of *keeping our colonies*;

and our colonies are *ruined*; and ruined too *in consequence of the burdens imposed upon us!* Call you this *governing* a nation? Call you this *protecting* a people?

I have before me two papers: one, a statement of the ruinous state of the WEST INDIANS, concluding with asserting, that a lessening of the tax on *sugar* and *rum* is necessary to preserve the West Indians from *utter ruin*; and the other, a statement of the ENGLISH DISTILLERS, asserting that lessening the duty on *rum* would ruin their trade. *I believe them both*; and, after inserting their statements, I will offer a remark or two upon the subject.

RUM AGAINST GIN.

At a meeting of the standing committee of West India planters and merchants, held at the West India Committee Rooms, 60, St. James's-street, the 6th February, 1830,

The Marquis of CHANDOS, M. P., in the Chair,

It was resolved, that under the pressure of unmitigated suffering which has so long afflicted the West India Colonies, the numerous class of British subjects involved in that suffering must make an early, urgent, and united appeal to Parliament for support and relief.

That, with this object in view, it is expedient to circulate the annexed statement of facts, which, under the authority of this committee, has been submitted to his Majesty's Government, showing the pressure of taxation on two of the staple articles of their produce. Every fact in that statement can be substantiated by the most satisfactory testimony, if such investigation should be considered necessary.

OBSERVATIONS on the SUBJECT of the PRESSURE of the EXISTING DUTIES on SUGAR and RUM.

The oppressive effects of a duty of 27*s.* per cwt. on sugar, fixed without any reference to the price, have been repeatedly represented to his Majesty's Ministers, and to the legislature of this country, and particularly in a petition presented to the House of Commons on the 1st of April, 1828.

In consequence of the gradual decline in price which has since taken place, every argument which the West India body then urged, has acquired tenfold strength, the duty being now much more disproportioned to the price than at any former period.

The duty on sugar commenced in the reign of Charles the Second, and had, prior to 1791, gradually been raised from 3*s.* 5*d.* to 12*s.* 4*d.* the cwt.

	The average price was	s. d.	the duty	being in the proportion of	
				per. cwt.	per cent.
In 1792 to 1796	55 1	15 0	27½		
1797 - 1798	67 3	17 6	26		
1799 - 1800	64 2½	18 2	28		
1801 - 1802	52 7	20 0	38		
1803 - 1823	46 4	27 0	58½		
1824 - 1826	33 5	27 0	80½		

The average prices were not again published until the latter part of the year 1828. During the last year, the price of sugar has been gradually falling. By the returns in June, 1829, the average price was only 29s. 6d. per cwt.; and on the 22d December, the price had still further fallen to 23s. 3½d. per cwt., and the duty remaining at 27s., bore the greatly increased proportion to the price of 110 per cent.

Thus the duty on sugar is now infinitely larger in proportion to the price than at any former period. Upon all middling and inferior kinds of sugar (which form about three-fourths of the supply) there is a very serious loss. On a considerable portion of the latter, which do not now sell for more than 17s. or 19s. per cwt., the duty amounts to from 142 to 159 per cent., and on those lower qualities of sugar, the planter, after paying the freight, insurance, landing, and sale charges, amounting at least to 8s. per cwt., has only from 9s. to 11s. per cwt. for the expense of production; which, with reference to the present low price of rum, and to the current expenses of carrying on the cultivation of the estates, cannot be estimated at less than 18s., without making any allowance for the interest on the capital embarked.

A planter is thus receiving 7s. to 9s. per cwt. less than the cost of the production, and it is evident that neither production nor taxation can continue on such a basis.

The West India body seek in vain for any reasons to justify the continuance of a duty so greatly disproportioned to the price, which they submit is contrary to every principle of legitimate taxation.

Although the British West India Colonies had long furnished a sufficient supply for home consumption, and a large surplus for exportation, the planters of the Mauritius have been admitted as new competitors into the markets of this country. In 1825, when this admission was about to take place, his Majesty's Ministers stated that the West India interest "in opposing the measure were wrong, as some 10 or 12,000 hhds. only could find their way into the English market." By the parliamentary returns it appears, however, that the importation of Mauritius sugars, which, in 1825 was only 93,723 cwt. (equal to 6,464 hhds. of 14½ cwt. each), has been regularly increased to four times that quantity, being in 1828 no less than 361,052 cwt. (24,900 hhds. of 14½ cwt.); and there is reason to believe that this island will permanently add about one-eighth to the quantity of sugars which are admissible for home consumption on the terms of the old colonies. While the West India planters have

been thus exposed in the home market to a powerful and still increasing competition, their produce is still virtually excluded from the great markets of Russia, Austria, France, and the Netherlands, by the fiscal regulations of those countries; and in the continental markets that remain open to them, they are met by competitors of foreign colonies, who are constantly, and at a comparatively small expense, acquiring new labourers by means of the slave trade, and who are thus immediately enabled to extend the culture of the sugar-cane at a low cost; this extension is amply manifested by the great increase in the quantity sent during the last year to all the markets of Europe, from Cuba, and other foreign colonies and states.

Upwards of 600,000 negroes have been imported into foreign colonies since the peace; and notwithstanding the unwearied exertions and the countless sacrifices on the part of this country to abolish the traffic in slaves by foreign powers, it is carried on at this moment to an almost unprecedented extent; and a more effectual impulse to its growth cannot be given than the present declining state and the apprehended ruin of our colonies.

Since the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807 by Great Britain, the colonial legislatures of the West India islands have been progressively introducing many beneficial regulations for the treatment of their negroes, by which the quantity of labour is diminished, and the cost of their maintenance increased; circumstances which materially conduce to the advantages enjoyed by the foreign cultivators of sugar. If in this competition the British colonies are allowed to sink, the wide national calamity that must ensue from their ruin, would far surpass the evils resulting from any apprehended defalcation of revenue which might arise from a reduction of duty; and if by a grinding and oppressive policy the cultivation of our colonies be once destroyed, it is in vain to expect that it can ever again be restored, while, in the event of such a catastrophe, foreigners could not be expected to bring permanently a supply of sugar to this country so large as to sell it at present rates with the existing duty.

A diminution of the duty on sugar would, by encouraging steadily low prices, naturally and inevitably increase the consumption; and the increase of consumption of sugar, so far from displacing the consumption of any other article of universal necessity or comfort, would very probably augment the consumption of very many exciseable articles, and particularly of tea and coffee.

The non-intercourse between the West India colonies and the United States of America, has deprived us of that natural and extensive market for rum, not again to be recovered.

The extra duty levied in the home-market, not only entirely prevents the use of it by the rectifier, but also impedes, to a most unjust extent, its consumption throughout the United Kingdom. In Scotland and Ireland the duty

is peculiarly oppressive, rum being charged with a duty of 8s. 6d. per gallon, and home-made spirits with a duty of 2s. 10d. per gallon.

In February, 1824, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was so sensible of the expediency of giving greater scope to the sale of this article, that he declared in Parliament that it was "sound in principle" to place rum on an equality with British spirits. Parliament accordingly equalised the duties; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer emphatically declared "that the act must ultimately lead to good," as it was "sound in principle." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in avowing this opinion, felt that it was unjust to exclude rum from being rectified equally with British-made spirits; and in the next session of Parliament an Act was passed by which rum was admitted to rectification, but this act of justice was accompanied by the imposition of 1s. 6d. per gallon additional duty on rum to that charged on British spirits consumed in England; which made the rum duty three times as much as the duty on British spirits consumed in Scotland and Ireland. The West India body represented that it was in vain to pass a law admitting of rectification with a prohibitory duty. They were told, that if, contrary to the intention and expectations of Government, it should prove prohibitory, the moment the fact could be established, relief should be granted, as it was the honest purpose of his Majesty's Government that rum should be rectified on a fair and equitable duty. The prediction of the West India body has been verified to the fullest extent; yet, notwithstanding their urgent and repeated representations to this effect, they have hitherto failed in obtaining redress.

The grounds on which these applications have been resisted are:—

1. That the 1s. 6d. extra duty was only an equitable protection to British spirits, in consideration of the heavy expenses to which the English distiller was found to be liable.
2. That although the triple duty in Scotland and Ireland could not be defended on any principle of justice, it was necessary to protect the revenue against the smuggling of rum into England.
3. That the duty on rum was not excessive, as the consumption had increased; and
4. That the increase in the price was the chief cause why rum was not rectified.

The West India body contend that these grounds of objections are not valid; the fact that rum is not rectified, destroys every argument that can be adduced in favour of 1s. 6d. being only an equitable protection, and at once establishes their right to have the pledge of the Chancellor of the Exchequer redeemed.

In taking into consideration the expenses of the English distiller, those of the planter have been wholly overlooked, although they greatly exceed the English distiller's in many most important particulars. As each planter is obliged to have a distillery, he is subject to a much greater proportionate expense than a

distiller in England, who produces more spirit in one week than a planter will do in a year. The planter must resort to this country for every utensil used in his distillery, for repairs in cases of accident, for a great proportion of fuel, and many other articles which it would be endless to enumerate. It may be safely asserted, that he stands more in need of protection against the English distiller, than the latter does against him. The West India body however, may rest the question of equitable protection on the following incontrovertible facts, viz., that if the planter were to give his rum for nothing in the West Indies, it would not be used here by the rectifier at the present duty. The cask, freight, insurance, &c. cost 1s. 2d. per gallon: the extra expense of rectifying rum is about 6d. and the extra duty is 1s. 6d., so that rum, without any price being paid to the planter, would cost the rectifier 3s. 2d., or 2d. per gallon more than he would pay for English spirits, and 4d. more than what is manufactured in Scotland and Ireland, for sale in England, which proves not only that the present duty is prohibitory, but also that the reduction must be considerable to afford even a possibility of the planter having access to any share of the benefit intended by Parliament in legalising the rectification.

The West India body submit, that the difficulty of preventing the smuggling of rum into England, if the triple duty on that article were repealed in Scotland and Ireland, cannot be greater than that of preventing the smuggling of British spirits made in those parts; and they protest against such ground being taken for excluding permanently any portion of his Majesty's subjects, far less a class labouring under the greatest distress, from the advantage of intercourse with two divisions of the United Kingdom, and therefore it is with confidence that they look to the legislature for relief in this respect.

With regard to the consumption of rum having increased, it is to be observed that the increase is not in proportion to, and has not arisen from, its having supplanted the use of British spirits. It is to be attributed to its having obtained a consumption formerly supplied by smuggled brandy; and no measure could be so effectual in putting down the smuggler, as taking off the extra duty of 1s. 6d. on rum.

The statement that the increased price of rum had been a means of preventing its being rectified, is unhappily incorrect; for, so far from an increase in the price, there has been a diminution: and at present it is only about two-thirds of what it was when the extra duty was imposed; and even that miserable price is obtained with the greatest difficulty, the proprietor being obliged to keep rum on hand for many months, at heavy warehouse rent, without any means of selling it. By the parliamentary returns of the duty on British spirits, for the year ending the 5th January, 1829, it appears that on 23,413,777 gallons of British spirits, the duty paid was 4,993,554*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*,

whereas the duty on the same quantity of rum, if substituted for British spirits in the consumption of England, Scotland, and Ireland, would have amounted to 9,950,853*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*, which clearly demonstrates the extent to which rum is taxed beyond British spirits.

From this statement it will appear, that a large reduction of the duty on sugar, to assist in consuming the surplus coming to this country, and a modification of the rum duties, are indispensable.

The most urgent and continued representations to France, Spain, and the Brazils, to abandon the slave trade, are the further means recommended to remedy the overwhelming difficulties under which the West India Colonies now labour.

GIN AGAINST RUM.

The duty on the gallon of rum, for home consumption, was, at 5th January, 1826, reduced to 8*s.* 6*d.* The duty on British raw corn spirit, in England, was then also reduced to 7*s.* From this nominal difference of 1*s.* 6*d.* against rum, the West India planters and merchants have petitioned Parliament to be relieved. When these duties were fixed, this 1*s.* 6*d.*, as a protection in favour of the corn distillery, was for the following, among other reasons, deemed indispensable. Because, the raw materials from which rum and the corn spirit are respectively distilled, are widely different; the former being produced from molasses or sugar, the latter from malt corn and grain; and the quality of the two spirits *dissimilar*. Because, the two kinds of spirit are not alike applicable to every purpose, rum may be easily in England re-distilled into gin or any kind of compounds; but corn spirit or gin cannot, by any process yet discovered, be converted into rum. Rum is consequently the preferable article, and, in point of quantity, the power of production by the colonies is *unbounded*. Because, rum is an article already highly favoured. It enjoys the free scope of the home-market, and subject to the difference of duty above mentioned, it is now permitted to be even rectified and compounded. Its consumption has been progressively increasing. This increase, in the last four years, compared with the three years preceding the reduction of duty, has amounted on the average to 55 *per cent. per annum*. Because, rum is, by order of Government, supplied exclusively to the navy and army, services requiring 400,000 imperial gallons annually. Because, exclusive of largely supplying the home market, and also the navy and army, rum is used, without duty, for the stores of ships going on foreign voyages, and is also exportable generally to foreign parts, while English spirits are sold only for home consumption, duty paid. Because, raw corn spirit, on the contrary, cannot be manufactured without the use of a certain portion of malt. Sometimes it is produced from malt alone. This malt duty (besides the spirit

duty of 7*s.* per gallon) the distiller has to pay. Because, after payment in England of 7*s.* per gallon on the raw spirit, that spirit would be unsaleable, unless it underwent (at a great expense) the operation of rectifying and compounding; while to render rum saleable, this process and expense are unnecessary. It is made a *perfectly finished article before leaving the West Indies*. Because, to protect the just interest of the landholder, the trade in corn cannot be made *free*. Abroad the distiller could purchase corn at half the price he must pay for it in England. But if he uses foreign corn, it is subject to the importation duty, amounting at present to 18*s.* 4*d.* on the quarter of barley, equal to 1*s.*, nearly, on the gallon of his spirits. If he even uses English corn, it is at a price subject to the influence of that duty. The distiller cannot do as he would. Because, rum may be warehoused on importation, and held for several years without payment of duty; when withdrawn from bond, it is charged with duty only upon what is delivered out, and not upon the quantity put in. The corn distiller is allowed no credit on his duty, nor any thing for waste. Because, the distiller, from being in other respects under legislative restraint, suffers great disadvantages. For securing the revenue, he is subjected to a form of process, and mode of working, unpractised in the West Indies, and which to him are daily and constantly the source of much injury, vexation, and expense. Because, in 1825, to meet the new and important change in the distillery laws then adopted by Government, the distillers in remodelling and re-constructing their premises, were subjected to an expense of more than 250,000*l.*, to uphold which their annual charge for waste of capital, and wear and tear, have been greatly augmented, and which, if the trade were to be overthrown, would prove nearly a total loss. From all which it is obvious, that if the West India petition shall be successful, or any part of the 1*s.* 6*d.* on the rum duty be removed, *the entire ruin of the corn distillery of England would be inevitable*. The consumption of corn by this trade in the United Kingdom, has arrived at 1,400,000 quarters annually. A ready and sure market for all descriptions of inferior or damaged barley (unfit for malting) is thereby afforded. During the present and preceding season, barley of this description, to the extent of several hundred thousands of quarters; has found a vent through this channel, which, in other circumstances, *must have been left useless in the hands of the grower*.

I observed before, that the West Indians want the 1*s.* 6*d.* duty to be taken off from their rum; and here we see, that the distillers say, that, if this be done, their trade will be ruined. If this be not correct to the full extent of the statement, it is true in part, certainly

That the West Indians are upon the point of an *actual breaking up* is certain. If no amendment in their affairs take place, their lands must soon be *abandoned to those who work on them*. If they lose by their crops, in addition to the loss of rent, the negroes must very soon be the proprietors; and this is a state of things by no means beyond the scope of probability. But, then, our home distilleries consume 1,400,000 qrs. of ENGLISH barley and other grain annually; and, if this market be taken away, there must be an *increase of the distress of the land-people in England*.

It is monstrous, to be sure, that a hundred weight of sugar, which the planter sells here for 23s. 3½d. should pay 27s. tax: this is monstrous; but, if the Duke must have all the taxes, he must; and, particularly, if he must have the beer tax, and the malt tax, there is no reason why he must not have the sugar tax. The malt and beer are more necessary to us than the sugar, and they are of our own produce.

As to the rum and gin, the choice of the Parliament is simply this: to *break up totally the West Indians*; or, to *add to the distress in England*. A neat dilemma for a Government and a Parliament to bring themselves to by their own acts! And, what is more, by their victories and their conquests! Before they purchased the victories, the taxes were, at the utmost, 16 millions a year: they are now 60 millions. What is it that has ruined the West Indians? Look at the sugar duty. See the price at which the producer sold his sugar here, compared with the tax on it.

	Price.		Tax.
Before the victories	55s. 0d.	—	12s. 4d.
After the victories	23s. 3½d.	—	27s. 0d.

It is the tax, then, that has ruined the staunch voter for taxes; for, never was there one of the "West India body," who voted against any tax on us, if it did affect his own produce. It is the tax that has ruined poor negro-driver; but, the Duke must have the tax to pay for the victories, or, rather, to pay the interest of the money that was borrowed for the purchase of the victories.

What is it that has ruined 'SQUIRE JOLTERHEAD? The taxes. Look at the taxes and rates that the 'Squire's estate

has to pay now, compared with the price of his produce.

	Price of Wheat.	Taxes.	Rates.
Before the victories	4s. 6d.	£16,000,000	- 2,250,000
After the victories	6s. 0d.	60,000,000	- 8,000,000

It is the taxes, then, that have produced the 'Squire's distress. I have put his wheat at 6s. a bushel; but, it must come down to 4s. 6d. at the highest. It is the taxes, then, that has ruined Jolterhead; but, the Duke cannot keep the conquests without all the taxes, and cannot pay for the victories which obtained the conquests; and, therefore, the conquests must be, as the Duke says, abandoned, or the taxes must all continue to be paid.

Curious, that a nation should be ruined by its "glorious victories"! It has taken sixteen years to bring us to the dawn of our senses. We are half-dreaming yet. We shall be wide awake about the middle of next winter. The grand rousing will come from the fellows with hob-nails in their shoes. The rates will soon take all the rental; the stocks on the farms are very fast melting away; the farmers will be a very low race in a short time; and we shall, sooner than most people expect, see the approach of Lord Stanhope's last stage.

It is curious to observe how "distress" works for the BENEFIT of the labourers in husbandry. In "prosperous times," the commons, even the gardens, were taken from them. For twenty-five years I have been complaining of this, and showing how it tended to the ruin of the country. I made this complaint particularly as to WILTSHIRE, where (near Cricklade) I said, that they had been driven to stick up their mud-huts in the corners of roads, without an inch of land to plant a cabbage. That they seemed to have been swept off the fields by a tempest, and to have dropped under the banks. Judge, then, of my pleasure, upon reading the following, in the London papers: "It was unanimously resolved last week, at a vestry meeting of the parish of Corsham, Wilts, that land should be let to the poor upon an extensive scale, the practice upon a small one having been found to operate most beneficially to all parties." Good! The land yields no profit; and now they may have some of it! Dis-

truss for ever ! say I. LORD STANHOPE need be in no apprehension about their *dividing* the land by force of their numbers : it will be *given up to them*, if taxes to the amount of *thirty millions a year be not taken off*. And the question, my Lord Duke, really is this :—Shall we give up the *conquests* and leave the *victories* unpaid for ; or, shall we give up the land to the labourers ?

Thus it is, my lord Duke, that TIME, sturdy old TIME, avenges the wrongs done to TRUTH. The works of PITT and DUNDAS, and their urgers on and associates and instruments, are now felt in their natural consequences ; and TIME is avenging the men who suffered death, or imprisonment, or ruin, or bitter persecution for their public spirit in endeavouring to prevent the war of 1793. And is he not avenging the wrongs done to TRUTH ? What was the real case between us and the French people ? Our rulers, our nobles, our clergy, all our “pastors and masters,” had been, for *three hundred years*, telling us, that the French government was a cruel despotism ; that the noblesse were tyrants ; that the people were slaves ; that their priests taught a religion that was idolatrous and damnable. This, in books of all sizes, in lessons for the young, in homilies for the old, in parliamentary speeches, in sermons from the pulpit ; in all manner of ways, from the cradle to the grave, this was what had, for three hundred years, been dinned in the ears of the people of England, who, accordingly, looked on the French people as beings scarcely above the level of dogs.

Well : at last this enslaved people rose upon their king, their nobles, and their priests, drove them from their country, and put down the “*idolatrous and damnable religion*.” And, then, oh *then!* did our rulers and teachers *rejoice* ? No : they received the expelled parties with open arms ; they fed them and cherished them at our expense ; they made war upon the people of France ; they subsidised (with our money) others to make war upon them ; and, when they, with the aid of a million of foreigners, had forced back the ancient kings and nobles upon France, they *held a grand jubilee in England*, of which the people of England paid the expense ; and that ex-

pense, of course, now forms part of the load that is pressing us to the earth, and that threatens, in my Lord Stanhope's opinion, to produce a state of things, in which the labourers will divide the land amongst them.

All the distress, my lord Duke, all the misery that we behold, all the dangers that surround us at home, all the distrainings for rent or for rates, all the desperate conduct of the labourers (once so gentle and docile) ; all, yea all, and all that reason tells us *must follow*, if no effectual remedy be applied ; all have their cause in this unjust and unnecessary war. Daylight is not more visible than that the distress arises from the taxes ; and you now (if the report be correct) tell us, that these taxes cannot be taken off ; because they are demanded by the *debt* and the *dead weight* occasioned by the war, and by the *conquests* which that war acquired. Of what nature the sufferings of the people are, the following account, from the GLOUCESTER JOURNAL of the 20th February 1830, may tell the world.

“EXTREME DESTITUTION.—Amongst “the numerous complaints of distress “in all parts of the country, we have “heard of few instances which appear “to have so large a claim on the commiseration and assistance of a benevolent public, as the state of the poor “in the parish of Coaley, in this county. “A gentleman who occupied a considerable tract of land in an adjoining parish, in going over his farm in the late deep snow, found that a hedge “that surrounded one of his ricks had “been very lately carried away ; and “the track of the depredators being left “in the snow, he followed them, with “the intention of making their conduct “a public example to others. He soon “came to a cottage, if it deserves the name, where part of the wood had “evidently gone. Here he found a woman and three children, the eldest a “boy about eight years old, who was “not even decently clothed ; the poor “woman very little better, and none of “the family having either shoes or “stockings ! The cottage, or rather the “hut, consisted of only one room on the “ground-floor, the roof in such a state “that, in wet weather, it was as dirty in

" the habitation as out of it; the chimney so low, yet so open, that it offered but little obstruction to the entrance of the piercing winds and weather; and there being only a door-way, without any door whatever, to this miserable abode, we leave our readers to judge what these poor creatures must have suffered during the severe cold we have this winter experienced. To add to their sufferings, too, they had no bed, blankets, or even bedstead to lie on; so that all they could do at night, was to wrap themselves in their miserable scanty clothing, and lie down in the most sheltered part of this wretched habitation. This statement may probably appear overdrawn; but our readers may depend on its veracity; nor will they be at much loss to account for such misery, when they learn that the poor are almost all unemployed; that *the greatest allowance to any one in the parish is 1s. 3d. per week*; and that there are no respectable persons living within its limits, to render them assistance, *except the curate* (who does far more than prudence would dictate), and the farmers, who are so oppressed themselves by the state of the times and the enormous burden of the poor-rates, that they can of course do nothing for the poor and destitute around them. But to proceed to the cottage, little better than the last, to which the rest of the wood had evidently found its way: here a poor old man, one of its inhabitants, came out to meet the visitor, well knowing, as he said, why he was come; and invited him in to witness the distress which had driven him to steal the wood. The wife of the old man, it appeared, was so far mentally deranged, as to be obliged to be tied in the house. His son, 30 years of age, was an idiot; and his daughter, who completed the family, and who by her work at some neighbouring factory had supported the rest, lay so ill of a violent fever, that he did not expect she could survive an hour! The old man himself had no work; and the only allowance he had had from the parish was 1s. per week. The gentleman observed that that could not possibly maintain them. The poor

man replied, that though they did manage to support life, yet they had often been obliged to go for a whole day together without food! The old man's cheeks were marked by the channels his tears had made; and we think many of our readers will be almost ready to shed the tear of sympathy over his melancholy destitute situation. The gentleman, on returning home, very kindly sent the poor sick daughter such sustenance as was adapted to her state of health; but, alas! it was too late, for she is now released from all her accumulated sufferings. Her illness was no doubt induced by the real want of the common necessities of life; and, there is every reason to fear, the fever will spread further amongst the poor inhabitants of the parish.—Let not our readers suppose that these are solitary instances of distress. We cannot pretend to state the extent of misery that exists in the neighbourhood; but the touching cases we have related, which were discovered as by accident, and are given without exaggeration, may form a good criterion by which to judge of the state that many of our fellow-creatures are to be found, in and about the parish we have mentioned.—We are happy to learn, that the gentleman who intended to expose the wickedness of these suffering depredators, has generously undertaken to collect a subscription for the relief of the parish, which we conceive is far more needed than those which have been made in towns and cities, where personal suffering is comparatively unknown. If any benevolent individuals should feel disposed to add, even their mite, to the subscription that is now set on foot, they may rest assured their contributions will be very gratefully received, and punctually and judiciously applied, and may be paid to the Printers of this Paper."

And is this *in England*; and is this state of things *never* to be changed? It never can, as long as taxes shall be collected to their present amount. What! And shall this continue, while there are men, who receive, out of those taxes, annually, as much each of them as would support a thousand labourers with their

thousand families? My heart swells with rage as I ask the question. It cannot be: it cannot continue: there must be a change, great and all-searching; and of this every man is now convinced.

The aged, the crippled, the helpless babes, the insane, may suffer in the manner above described; but, while the strong will not suffer thus, the sight of such suffering in these feeble creatures impels them to deeds of resentment and desperation. There is a limit, beyond which men will not suffer, if they have bone and sinew at command; and at this limit we appear to be fast arriving. And there is this danger, that a *yielding to obvious danger* is sure to lead to demands of more than would have satisfied before. Therefore, *the time for conciliation now is*; but, for the thousandth time I repeat, that this cannot be effected without a great and *radical change*. Compared with internal happiness and peace and security, what are *conquests*, what are *colonies*?

I cannot conclude this letter without a word or two on *negro slavery*. I remember what a *great point* this was in our negotiations, at Paris, *with the then recently restored king*, while YOU had the *military command of that city*! What we gained in this way was, in fact, extorted, as the negotiations proved; and I, *at the time* (I did not wait till now), said, that it would *answer us no purpose*. I further said, that the other nations would suspect, that we, being *well mounted, well stocked, with negroes*, wished to *prevent them* from repairing their losses, and *rivaling us in the sugar and coffee trade*. And now, look at the statement of the "*West India Body*"! They *complain*, that, *since the peace*, more than 600,000 fresh slaves have been brought into the colonies of *other nations*, in spite of *all our efforts to prevent it*; and that our trade in sugar and coffee is thereby *greatly injured*!

Good! This shows the *sincerity* of our declarations; this shows our views; this accounts for all the anxiety, expressed in Parliament, that Castlereagh the *humane* would *secure* this point. It was secured *in words*. And, why do we not *compel* these nations to adhere to this treaty of "*humanity*"? Because we cannot *without war*. And why not com-

pel them *by war*? Because war demands money; and because we are up to our ears in debt and distress by merely making good, or attempting to make good, our money engagements of the *last war*. Because, in short, we are ruined by an endeavour to pay for our "*victories*" and our "*conquests*."

Thus, my lord Duke, we cannot look backward or forward; we cannot turn to the right or to the left, we cannot catch a glance at any speck of our national picture, without exclaiming, O TIME, thou hast avenged the wrongs done to TRUTH, and hast freshened the turf on the graves of the victims who perished in her cause!

As to the part that *you are now acting*, you are situated as I foretold you would be. Men judge by the *result*, and they are not nice about circumstances. You were covered with *glory* by the *result* of the battle of Waterloo. In vain do people say, though I believe with perfect truth, that you owed your success to the *merely accidental* arrival of forty thousand Prussians, under the command of Blucher. You *defeated Napoleon*, and that was enough. The pride and vanity of the nation caused this *lucky* circumstance to be wholly overlooked. The *result* was all that men thought of; and praise and title and wealth showered down upon you.

For the same reasons men will *now* judge of you by the *result*. If you get the nation out of these difficulties; if you remove the distress; or, if it pass away, you will be lauded to the skies; but if you *fail*; if the thing go to pieces in *your hands*; if a bank-stoppage, or a convulsion, or any thing of a breaking up take place, you will be regarded as the cause of the calamity; you will be looked upon as *defeated*; and men will judge of you, and speak of you, accordingly: there are no terms or epithets of reproach and contempt, which will not be associated with your name.

Nor is this at all unjust; for, if success be to give you *all* the praise, failure ought to give you *all* the blame. You have all the powers of the country in your hands; you have the wielding of all its resources; you have majorities in both Houses of Parliament; you can cause to be adopted any measures that

you please; you voluntarily took your office upon you; you can quit it at your pleasure; and therefore, if the nation be ruined while you hold that office, all the blame must and will fall upon you. Besides, you have been amply warned of the danger; in every way in which warning can come, you have received it; a thousand petitions will be on record to prove, that others saw the danger approaching; there will exist evidence to prove that you are without valid excuse; and who, then, is to moderate the reproaches of millions of families made miserable by your measures? You have had the press to aid you in your decision upon every subject; no flatterers can have deceived you against your inclination; all the branches of every subject connected with your duty have been amply discussed in the most able manner; you have had all the talent in this whole nation to assist your judgment; you have been kept fully informed of all the symptoms good or bad; every channel of information, every source of light has constantly been open to you; and if, after all this, a people like this be, while under your sway, steeped in misery from any cause other than that of the immediate and visible visitation of God, all just men will say that TO YOU belongs the blame.

WM. COBBETT.

MOST GLORIOUS LIE!

THE lies of the *anti-breeders*, or *surplus population-mongers*, have very far surpassed those of BARON MUNCHAUSEN, one of whose very best was, that being on horseback, in a very *deep snow*, and being dead-tired, he tied his horse to a sort of iron post, that he found sticking above the snow, and lay down, some yards from him, and went to sleep. While he was asleep a *thaw* came, and what was his surprise to find himself on the bare turf of a church-yard, and to see his poor horse hanging by his halter to the top of the steeple! This is a banging lie, to be sure; but it has been far surpassed by the *surplus popu-*

lation-mongers; and WILMOT HORTON, the prince of this brazen and foolish set, has far distanced all the rest. He has just printed *three pamphlets*, which he calls an "*Inquiry into the causes and remedies of pauperism*;" in the third, of which he has the following *most glorious lie*: "Hume states the population of England, in the reign of Elizabeth, "to have been estimated by Sir Edward Coke, at 900,000; and a statement of the number of fighting men "at that time *would appear to support so very low an estimate.*" Now, perhaps, the lying HUME may have put this lie into his book of lies; COKE may, too, have told the lie; but HORTON WILMOT is as brazen a liar, or a most monstrous fool, for pretending to believe it, and for wanting others to believe it. Such are the "*facts*," such the "*data*" of this verbal coxcomb, who calls himself a *philosopher*.

The bloody old English Jezebel did, indeed, destroy a great many of the English people; but still there were 16,000 parish churches, and 28 cathedrals, including Westminster. There were then only 450,000 *males* in England, and only about 300,000 *grown-up men*, including the aged and dying; rather less than 19 grown-up men to each parish church, including cripples and insane persons, and leaving nobody for the cathedrals! What a lie! SPELMAN, who wrote *early in the reign of James I.*, gives an account of the *number and places of abode* of the *noblemen, baronets, knights, and gentlemen*, having *mansions* in the country, in England. These amounted to 24,240. The parish parsons, clerks, and sextons, must (leaving out the cathedrals) have amounted to 48,000. The overseers and churchwardens, to 64,000. The parish constables or beadies to 16,000. The mayors, aldermen, bailiffs, borough-reeves, and other officers and members of corporations, to about 4,000. The justices of the peace to about 2,000. Jailors, rackers, spies, and informers, hangmen and rippers-up, and prisoners, to more than 6,000. Soldiers and sailors to more than 20,000. Each nobleman, baronet and gentleman, five servants on

an average, including gardeners, and all others, 121,200. Here we have, then, 321,480 grown-up men (leaving out the cathedrals still); and lying, foolish, coxcomb author Wilmot has but 300,000 all together! This is a "*philosopher*"; this is a "*data*" man! This is the projector for sending English people to that miserable heap of rocks, called *Nova Scotia*! This is a man for finding out the means of *relieving our distresses*. 'Gad! I have him "*out of doors*" now, and I will lash him till I have lost him. The pamphlets have been *sent to me*, with "*from Mr. Wilmot Horton*" on the cover. Whether by him I cannot say; but the *author* is stated, in the title pages, to be "*The Right Honourable Wilmot Horton, M. P.*" As *author*, he surely may be *dealt* with without exposing one to *banishment*. This is a *privy council* or! That fact, *that one single fact*, is quite enough to account for the present *national distress*. If we add to the above one hundred and fifty men for each cathedral, including all the attendants, stewards, and workmen to do repairs, we have another 4,700; and if we add to these all clerks in all the offices of Government; all the persons employed in the customs and in managing the other revenues of the Crown, and all Old Bess's monopolies; if we allow, on an average, one workman to be employed on the repairs of each parish church and parsonage-house and buildings; if we allow one man servant for each parson; if we allow there to have been 20,000 lawyers, officers of the courts, sheriffs' officers, attorneys, their clerks, physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, and their apprentices, and allow to each of these (except the apprentices), including the chancellor and judges, only one man servant; and if we put the whole together, we have more than 450,000 *grown-up men*; and Horton tells us, that there was only that number of *MALES* in the kingdom, including *babies* in the cradle, worn-out *old men*, and men *insane*, and *paupers* into the bargain!

So great a lie never was published before. CHALMERS was *liar enough*, in

stating the population at *two millions*, in the *reign of King John*; but Horton surpasses even all the Scotch liars and *feelosofers*. The *coxcomber* of the man surpasses, however, his impudent lies. He shall hear from me again at a time of more leisure.

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